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HARRT the Ninth's
SECOND SPEECH
TO BOTH

HOUSES of P-----T,

The 14th Day of May 1548.

L-----di and G-----n,

particular Zeal, Unanimity, and Dispatch, with which you have attended the publick Business during this Session, and brought it to so happy a Conclusion, afford me great Satisfaction. The peculiar Regard that you have shewn for the Protection and Safety of our Friends and trusty Allies the H-----s: and your Zeal for the Preservation of the Peace of Europe, and the Interest of her Allies, by granting to them such ample and liberal Supplies, cannot fail of producing the most beneficial

empowering me to take such a large Body of H-----s, Ruff-----s, M-----s, and other Mercenaries into my Pay, for the Service of our Confederates, fully to the Preference of our foreign rather than domestic Interests. And the largeness of your Grants and Supplies has not given any Ground to our Allies, as to enable me, by their Contribution, to raise such a numerous and powerful Army into the Field, as you expected, or I should have desired. The great Efforts that you have made, for guiding and conducting the War in a vigorous manner, have been attended with such a happy Effect, that, if we were not assisted by the Force of our Arms, to afford any succour to the H-----s, by investing of which the H-----s had opened the Campaign, or to strike the least Stroke for our own Defence against the common Enemy: yet France has, by the signing of such just and reasonable Preliminaries, and such as if rigorously adhered to, lay the Foundation for a lasting, lasting, and general Peace.



It would have given me particular Satisfaction to have had the Articles, that have already been agreed to, before you; but the Exchange of the Ratification of them by the contracting Parties cannot possibly be thoroughly made as yet, and the Session of the Year is so far advanced, as makes it necessary for us to put an End to this Session of P———t.

But you may depend on my making the preliminary Articles publick as soon as they have been ratified by the *French King*, the *S———s*, *G———s*, and myself, which will be Time enough, to prevent any unnecessary Cavils and Disputes about them this Session, and, by the next, you will be better prepared, from a long Consideration thereof, and be more able to enter into future Deliberations on such important and weighty Affairs as they may contain.

As I have throughout the War paid the greatest Regard to the Support and Interest of my Allies; so you may be assured that I have not been forgetful of their future Ease, Welfare and Prosperity, in the preliminary Articles that I have accepted for bringing about a general Pacification. It will not be long before I shall authorise them to be made publick; when you will perceive, that the greatest Care has been taken to support the Empress Queen of *H——g——*, in her hereditary Dominions, by only curtailing therefrom the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, in order to gratify *Spain* with her so much desired Establishment of *Don Philip*; but with such a certain Restriction, that, in case the present King of the two *Sicilies*, whom we formerly raised to his Throne: should ever attain to the Crown of *Spain*, that then, and not till then, the Dominions now in part as an Establishment for *Don Philip*, shall return to the House of *Austria*. Therefore, the better to establish the Indivisibility of the hereditary Possessions of that House, it is agreed upon, that the Emperor shall be acknowledged by *France* and *Spain* as the supreme Head of the Empire: That *Silesia* shall be guaranteed to the King of *Prussia*, and, after some other necessary Partitions are made for *Don Philip*, the *Genoese* and the Duke of *M——d——na*, that the pragmatick Sanction shall be brought in to full Force, and received as an immutable Law in the general Treaty, and be guaranteed anew by the contracting Powers.

As the King of *S——rd——a* has all along, through the Influence of our Subsidies, shewn such a steady Attachment to the common Cause, so particular Regard has been had, in the Preliminaries, towards his Re-establishment in all his Territories, and to his keeping Possession of the *Pavesan*, *Vigeonaise*, and County of *Angueria*, which were formerly yielded to him. And altho' we have not gratified him with the Possession of *Fl——na*, on account of our having engaged to replace the *Genoese* in

In all their former Possessions, Rights and Privileges; yet, considering the large Sums that he has received since the Commencement of the War. I believe he will have little Reason to complain of the Provision that is designed for him.

And to show my Readiness to facilitate the bringing about a safe and honourable Peace, and to improve the good Dispositions that the Powers concerned seem to be in for that Purpose, I have agreed that *Cape B—n*, and all other maritime Acquisitions, that have been made either in the *East or West Indies* during this War, shall be given up: In return for which *France* surrenders to the *Dutch* all those Towns that they have left undemolished on the Continent; and to restore to us the Port of *Madras* in the *East Indies*, if remaining as yet undestroyed. By which the *Dutch* will be again put into Possession of their ancient Barrier, and have nothing more to do, for its future Preservation, than only to rebuild the Fortifications and strengthen them with good and able Garrisons. And, to compensate in some Measure for the Restitutions that I have been obliged to make of our Colonies in the *West Indies* on this Occasion, *Spain* is to enter into Articles of Peace with us, on the Footing of the Quadruple Alliance; and the *Assiento* Treaty is also to be established upon the same, for the Years that are yet come of it: Which cannot fail of being very advantageous to the Commerce of this Nation, in my People being suffered to trade unmolested to the *Spanish* Settlements in *America*: But whether or no their *Guarda Costas* shall be permitted the searching for *Logwood*, as formerly, has not been yet adjusted, lest it should create any Obstruction to the good Design in Hand.

And for the better Establishment of the future Tranquillity of these Realms, it is especially agreed on, by all the contracting Parties, that the Cr—n of these K—gd—ms shall be acknowledged Hereditary for ever in my H—se. In order therefore entirely to extinguish the Pretensions of that Person, who arrogates to himself my Title, and to put an End to the domestick Feuds occasioned thereby, it is fully agreed, that he shall, for himself and his Descendants, renounce, in the most solemn and irrevocable Manner, all Claims or Pretensions whatsoever, which may deny, or tend to exclude me or my Family from a perpetual Succession to the Throne of these K—gd—ms. And, in order to prevent any future Occasion of reviving the same, it is agreed to allow a Support or Subsidy to that Family, sufficient for their Maintenance, independent of any foreign Prince, which will effectually prevent their being made Tools of on every Occasion, for distressing these K—gd—ms, as formerly; and for which good Purpose I do not doubt your utmost Succour and Assistance to perfect my Engagements, and put an End to the many Factions
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and Divisions, that this Point has so long and often unhappily created among my People.

I do not think it necessary, at present, to take any Notice of what has been farther agreed upon in the Preliminaries; but would have you to consider, that as we did not enter upon the War purely for our own Sakes, but also for the Preservation of our Allies, so their peculiar Interest and Advantages are as much, or more to be consulted in the making of a Peace, than our own. It might have been expected by some, that I should have insisted on our keeping of *Cape B* ———: But, as that Acquisition was so useless to ourselves, and so serviceable to our Enemies, I thought it was better to give it up, than to protract that wished for bringing of a good Peace.

Gentlemen of the H ——— of C ———.

I return you hearty Thanks for the ample Supplies, which you have so cheerfully granted me for the Service of the present Year; and your Readiness and Unanimity in laying the Duty on *dry Goods*, appropriating a Million from the Sinking Fund, and another Imp ——— which you have passed without any Delay for the publick Service, afford me singular Instances of that peculiar Affection and Regard which I have always experienced from you. And you may be assured, that whatever Sums you have granted, shall be particularly applied to those great and national Purposes for which they were given.

My L ——— and G ———.

As there is immediate Occasion of my going this Summer to visit my ——— Dominions, I shall rely on your Duty, Fidelity, and good Affections, for preserving of the Peace and good Order of these Kingdoms in my Absence: For tho' it is now above three Years since I last went abroad to inspect my Affairs in my Dominions on the Continent, you may be certain that I shall make no longer Stay than is absolutely necessary; and hope, before my Return, to bring about the Accomplishment of a happy and lasting Peace. Therefore, let it be your Care to promote such good Dispositions, in your several Counties, as may effectually support my Government; and it shall be mine to endeavour at the Advancement, and securing of your lasting Prosperity and Happiness.

A LET.

A LETTER to the Craftsman.

*Qui non defendit, nec obsequit, si potest, injurias, tam est in vitio,
quam si parentes, aut amicos, aut patriam, deserat.*

Cic. de Off. Lib. I.

IT has been a Custom among the Principals, the Tools, and Dependents, of all Administrations, to load the Writers who have opposed the Measures of the several Ministries with the Names of Malecontents, Spreaders of Sedition, and disaffected Persons: But the Readers, in all Ages, are left to their own private Judgment to determine whether such Writers are Friends or Enemies to their Country. As the People are interested in all political Writings, they should be the Patrons, the Protectors of Men who make it their Study to set the Affairs of the Publick in a clear and undisguised Light, who inform them of Impositions laid on them by the Hand of Power, and who warn them of impending Dangers. Calumnies on Men in Places of Trust are by no Means to be justified; but Reprehensions founded on Reason deserve not the Name of Calumnies. The Officers of a Government may be wrong in their Conduct, and yet not liable to be discovered by many who are the greatest Sufferers by their erroneous Measures: The Writer therefore who prevents his Countrymen from being deceived greatly to their Detriment, is a publick Good: By the Constitution, and indeed by all the right Principles of Government, we are obliged to assent to all that we think right; and by the same Principles we are at Liberty to oppose whatever we think wrong.

The late Earl of Oxford was as arbitrary in his Politicks (if I may with any Propriety call his blundering Schemes by the Name of Politicks) as the Pope ever was in Religion; and he was often a very severe Inquisitor against those who exposed his Weakness and Wickedness; and Persecution in Politicks, as well as in Religion, is always a sure Sign of bad Heads and bad Hearts: It is a Sign that Virtue and Reason are against them, when they seek a Refuge in Cruelty.

Ill-designing Men call Opposition to the Servants of a Government, Opposition to the Government itself; but nothing can be more unjust; for, the greater our Regard to the Government, the more we are concerned for every wrong Step taken by those who have the Reins in their Hands: And, if Measures are pursued repugnant to the Interest of the Government, we cannot better shew our Attachment to it than by opposing such Measures

in the best Manner we can. As the End of all Government is, or ought to be, the Good of the Subject, when any Scheme is carrying on contrary to that first Principle, every Subject has a Right to complain, and not only to complain, but to oppose in a legal Way : And in Cases of this Sort publick Writings, to expose the bad Intentions and Practices of Men in Power, when those Writings are the Fruits of a virtuous Heart and a discerning Head, are publick Advantages : Such Writers therefore are so far from being justly deemed Enemies to the Government, that they ought to be numbred amongst its best Friends.

Experience has, in all Times, shewed that vigorous Oppositions have been made to the Measures followed by Kings and their Ministers, while the Opposers were, among the sincerest Friends to both Government and King. In the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, the Cavaliers opposed the Earl of *Clarendon's* Administration, because that Minister, tho' a Man of Merit in some Respects, was obstinate and overbearing, often in the wrong ; and the Cavaliers who opposed him were not suspected of Want of Loyalty to the King : They saw a Man of low Birth, insolent in Office, and pushing the King frequently on unpopular and worse Measures ; and they therefore thought it their Duty to the King and Government to oppose him : This was the Case betwixt the People and the late Lord *Orford*, with this Difference betwixt Lord *Clarendon* and him, the first was a Man of Learning and good natural Abilities, and the other without either.

In the Reign of King *James the Second*, all who opposed the Measures which were pursued by the popish Party were branded with the Appellation of Enemies to their King and Country, tho' they were endeavouring to defeat such Projects as were fatal to the King, and might have been so to the Country, had not the Vigilance and Vigour of some interposed.

After the Revolution was effected under King *William the Third*, new Principles of Policy were introduced, the old and destructive were exploded, and such as were more consistent with Liberty, Virtue, and Reason, were established as the fundamental Principles of Government : Indeed I may venture to say that, till the Revolution, *England* had not a Constitution under which a wise Man would have chose to live : However, notwithstanding all the Advantage arising to this Nation from the Revolution, which were great and many, evil Customs and Practices began to prevail soon after the King was fixed on the Throne of these Kingdoms, which the best and wisest Men thought proper to oppose. Men who were zealously attached to the Constitution and to King *William*. Standing Armies in Times of Peace, ill-concerted Measures, and ill-conducted Wars, which brought on publick Debts, provoked as true a Patriot, and as sincere a Friend

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Friend as King *William* had, to write the *History of standing Armies*, in which he shewed how incompatible they were with our Constitution, how inconsistent with the Principles on which the Revolution was undertaken and accomplished, and how dangerous to the Liberties of *England*; yet the Author, Mr. *Trenchard*, was as worthy an *Englishman*, and as disinterested a Friend to the then reigning Prince, as any in the Land.

I believe the principal Gentleman in the present Ministry, especially the noble Lord who has been long at the Head of the Secretary's Office, would think themselves very unjustly and ungratefully treated, if their Opposition at the latter End of Queen *Anne's* Reign, should be stiled factious and seditious: Their Opposition was doubtless laudable, and proceeded from an earnest Love for their Country, and a Detestation of the Measures then pursued by a Set of Men who acted on no Principles but what favoured their own Interest and Ambition; and it must be acknowledged, that, to the Vigilance and Activity of that noble Lord, and some few more, we owe our Rescue from many Evils which then hung over us.

The House of *Hanover* succeeded, on the Death of Queen *Anne*, to the Throne of these Kingdoms, and all considerate Protestants were pleased with the Succession; but they were not pleased to see King *George I.* shew a sonder Attachment to *Hanover* than to *England*; they were not pleased to see his Ministers too ready to lodge his favourite Schemes on the Continent, to the manifest Detriment of the Interest of *England*; and they who wrote against such Measures may reasonably be supposed to have been actuated by a Love for their Country, and a Desire of prevailing on their Prince to pursue true *British* Measures.

If, in the Reign of King *George II.* a partial Attachment to his *German* Dominions should be evident, and Expeditions should be promoted on that Account only, and such Measures should be pursued as exhaust the Riches of the Land, destroy the Manufactures, debase the Spirits of the People, and corrupt the Manners of all Degrees of Men, would it not be a great Service to the Nation, and to the Prince, to shew the Deformity of such a Conduct? Would not a Writer, who should do it with Modesty, and manly Reasonings, be intitled to the Thanks, and not the Reproaches of his Countrymen?

I doubt not, in the least, but the Persons now at the Head of the Administration had rather follow such Measures as would promote the true *British* Interest, if they were left to their own Inclination; but if a Prince, from a Want of right Information, or from a natural Inability for the Government of Kingdoms, which often happens to those born to Empire, or from any other Defect of Power or Will, should propose Schemes unsalutary

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to the Land, a great and good Man should
the first of the first Place of Government under the
in the Promotion of such a Man: He should not
to defend his Prince from them; and
him so obviously wrong, as not to be set right, he
the Prince, rather than hold them by so inglorious a
by the Renunciation of his Virtue, and the Prostitution of
Understanding.

TO CALEB D'ANVERS Esq

SIR,

A Company of old Fellows of us were lately invited to
the Death of the Duke of Gloucester, Queen Anne's Son,
and happened but Yesterday; and the Occasion of our
Assembly was a Discourse on the Death, and other
things, which have been brought on this Notice by the
of a Race of Foreigners; whose Title we do not dispute,
Want of paternal Affection to us we cannot avoid
nevertheless lived, the Evils of the Reign of a Tyrant
last happened; and had the Duke of Gloucester been
rather, and been blest with an English Progeny, we
have haunted the partial Attachment of a Prince to his
Dominion. Give me Leave to conclude this melancholy
in the Words of one of our most elegant English Poets.

Can we forget, Albino dear, thy Knell,
Soul sounding wide from ev'ry Village Bell?
Can we forget, how sorely Albion mourn'd,
That Hills, and Dales, and Rocks, in Echo groan'd
Presaging future Woes, when, for our Crimes,
We lost Albino, Pledge of peaceful Times!

Philips's Poem

I am Yours, &c.

We hear that his R. H. the P. of W. has purchased a Pantine,
Pantine, at a very great Price, for the Entertainment of
and his Family, and that he shew wonderful Dexterity in pro-
of its Attitudes. It is thought that little Pantine will
be quite out of Favour. *Spes altera Roma!*

